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WEEKLY PEOPLE



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THE TRAUTMANN CASE

HOW THEY ARE "SMASHING" SOCIALISM AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Capitalist Politicians in the Union's Executive Board Act as "Judge, Jury and Executioner," and Ride Rough-shod Over the Referendum Fiat of the Rank and File, Obedient to the Civic Federalized Gompers Crew.

Cincinnati, April 26.—When on April 17th the Associated Press dispatches carried forward the statement, as contained in the Cincinnati Enquirer of that date with the following big headlines:—SOCIALISM IS BEING STAMPED OUT BY THE LEADERS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM WILL BE COMPLETELY ERADICATED. DEPOSITION OF EDITOR TRAUTMANN WILL BE FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR ACTION IN OTHER CASES,—the press did not hesitate at the same time to publish the statements of the General Executive Board of the United Brewery Workers, but failed, after signed and sworn to statements were presented them for rebuttal, to inform the world of labor that the stamping out act was only accomplished by an atrocious crime, as perhaps seldom witnessed in the annals of the labor movement of America, so filled with chapters of appalling misdeeds and outrages.

In behalf of the General Executive Board of the United Brewery Workers, Mr. Priesterbach gives a signed statement, to wit:

"RECEIVED AN ULTIMATUM."

"We depose Trautmann because we do not propose to let him or those who think with him on the subject of Industrial Unionism wreck on the rocks of Socialism our International organization which it has taken us many years to build up and perfect.

"We disposed him at our meeting in January last, but he appealed to a referendum vote of the general membership, which endorsed our stand, and when the result of the vote was delivered Saturday, Trautmann was told to step down and out."

The Executive Board of the United Brewery Workers' International Union admit that they have received an ultimatum from the officials of the American Federation of Labor that "Trautmann should either resign his position as Secretary of the National Industrial Union, or else be deposed as Editor of the Brauer Zeitung, and if this mandate was not obeyed the Brewery Workers' International Union would be expelled from the American Federation of Labor."

This gives the kernel in the nutshell. Not only borne out by the strongest evidence, in spite of the denial of the International Executive Board next day, but also in startling derision of the expressed will of the membership of the United Brewery Workers, who, by 1261 votes majority on a referendum, instituted purely on a question of principles, sustained the editor, it has been demonstrated that the issue involved was that of "smashing Socialism in the union movement of this country."

Let the Socialists know that neither Mr. Kemper, one of the International secretaries of the U. B. W., nor Mr. Priesterbach, both of whom are the instruments of the Gompers machine in the Brewery Workers' organization, is connected with either Socialist party, or known to be non-partisan Socialists. PRIESTERBACH IS A BRILLIANT LIGHT IN THE JEFFERSON DEMOCRATIC PARTY CLUB OF ST. LOUIS, TOGETHER WITH SEVERAL BREWERY PROPRIETORS OF THAT CITY.

Nor is one of the International Executive Board members of the United Brewery Workers, who were responsible for Trautmann's deposition, with two exceptions, members of any one of the Socialist political or economic parties. These exceptions are members from Milwaukee, Wis., who acted apparently under certain instructions, for which statement bears evidence the fact that before the total vote was computed the Social Democratic Herald knew already and heralded it out, that the editor of the Brauer Zeitung, a "traitorous man," had been deposed.

How could an organization, known to be composed of a large number of Socialists reach such a conclusion, or how could a General Executive Board, supposed to bow to the mandates of the rank and file, become such pliant instru-

ments in the hands of those who would "smash Socialism at all hazards?"

When the public press stated a few days after the last Executive Council meeting of the A. F. of L. that everything in the jurisdiction quarrel of the Brewery Workers with other unions had been satisfactorily adjusted, and the charters of the United Brewery Workers would not be revoked as decreed by the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, the price for this adjustment of troubles was not made known. It was to be paid, perhaps dear enough to the Brewery Workers by a repudiation of their principles. Trautmann's individual connection with the industrial union movement caused the Brewery Workers' Executive Board to call at once a meeting together in January. The ultimatum issued to Trautmann was either to resign from the Industrial Union Movement or give up the job as officer of the United Brewery organization, elected by referendum vote on exactly the same principles as embodied now in the well-known manifesto. Trautmann chose to deny the right of the Executive Board to depose him on such flimsy grounds, and appealed against the plaintiffs in the case to a general vote of the membership. The vote was taken. Ballots were to be counted at headquarters by the same Executive Board members who were the plaintiffs. A standing rule of the organization provides that every member must cast his own ballot. Since plaintiffs cannot act as judges, Trautmann entered protest and demanded witnesses on the canvassing committee, which was at first denied, later on allowed. The two witnesses, impartial men, are well-known Socialists, and members of the United Brewery Workers' Union. They were the real canvassers from all viewpoints of even capitalist law and custom. However, their counting result was not recognized and in order to get a full statement before the interested public an affidavit had to be sworn to that the canvassers selected as impartial, were the ones whose word and statement must be taken as true, since they are disinterested in this matter. They found that of 23,271 votes cast 9,157 votes were given in favor of sustaining the Executive Board in discharging Trautmann, the Editor, and 10,481 votes were cast sustaining the editor in his attitude towards the industrial union movement, giving him a majority of 1,281 votes. But 3,186 votes were either illegally cast and under points of the constitution not to be recognized, or fraudulently "yes" votes, favoring the International Executive Board, substituted to change the result of the referendum in such unions foremostly to which the International Executive Board members belong.

In several unions one man had cast all votes unanimously against Trautmann and for the Executive Board, in others where the rank and file had voted in favor of sustaining the editor, fraudulent votes written by one or two individuals were substituted to change the result, and in one case an International Executive Board member, Ad. Kummer, of Cincinnati, admitted that he had written twelve votes or more for the sustaining of the Executive Board, and could not deny it either, when seriously confronted.

The largest union of Brewery Workers, L. U. No. 9, of Milwaukee, had cast a large majority in favor of sustaining the editor but that vote was thrown out by the executive board members, for legitimate reasons, yet on same reasons they refused to throw out the vote of other unions equally in default, but as had cast the votes against Trautmann. The winding up of the statement of the canvassers of the deposed editor shows more conclusively that his deposition for his connection with the Industrial Union Movement was in obedience to the mandates of the A. F. of L. machine.

These were to be carried even if more outrages had to be resorted to. Both witnesses say:—"We will not refrain from making mention of some incidents that will throw still more light on the outrageous partiality displayed by the Executive members. When during the counting it was announced that a union had cast all votes "yes," thus against Trautmann's stand, one of the Executive members would make remarks such as, "Well, these men have sense," which remarks were followed by sneering

laughter from the others. In such a serious matter as the referendum vote in Trautmann's case to make such silly remarks and show scorn of the will of the membership so brazenly and openly is simply condemnable, and the members have a right to learn these things.

Striking as it is, that foremostly in such unions in which members of the Executive Board hold membership, such flagrant, vicious and abject violation of the constitutional laws of our International Unions are carried on, this only serves as an object lesson that the plaintiffs of Trautmann wanted to change the judgment in the case, which rests in the referendum of the membership, in such a manner and wanted to make it subject to their intents, with all foul means, that we must call attention to this incident unique in the records of the labor movement.

This document, by being released to the membership of the International Union of United Brewery Workers, contains the many expression of two members who went through three long lasting strikes and lockouts, and who wanted to play fair and impartial in this case, and intend to do so hereafter.

This, in our judgment, will, so we hope, arouse the membership so that they may make such preparations that an end be forever put to such fraudulent procedures in the International Union of United Brewery Workers, lest the referendum, instead of being a measure of protection, might become a farce and an instrument to prop up a padron system, which may hold its cruel whip over the heads which dare to revolt at this injustice, and are loath to submitting to the will of machines and bosses in an organization.

When the forcible ejection was consummated, on Saturday, April 15th, the supposed-to-be "smashers" of Socialism and Industrial Unionism, could not proceed further in the humiliation of a man who had to fight them because they were elected on the supposition of being ardent Socialists, while in reality supporters of old parties, than to search the private papers and belongings, forcibly, as one could not stand up against twelve of them, before he was allowed to leave. It was known to them and so to Gompers that Trautmann had collected evidence of corruption in most of the International Unions connected with the A. F. of L., and to get these valuable papers they first subjected the defenseless to this humiliation as described, and then offered any price to get these clippings, as they called them, and so when unsuccessful to get them by the offer of bribe, money not belonging to them, they came out with threats. But in anticipation of what was planned these important documents had been stored away in the hands of an attorney, and the smashing act of Socialism was frustrated, on those lines at least.

If Mr. Gompers and his followers, desperate as they have become, and the capitalist press now supporting them vigorously, find any comfort in the fact that such fraudulent, desperate and outrageous procedures are necessary in the smashing process, we will not begrudge them this delight, but neither will Socialism nor the sound principles of Industrial Unionism, with all germs of corruption eradicated, which by its tolerance has made of the officials in the American Federation of Labor a handmaiden of capitalism, as most of them are, able to stem the tide of progress. They see the handwriting on the wall foreshadowing the events impending, when the workers, looking for truth and longing for solidarity upon the economic battlefield, will throw overboard such misleaders and disrupters, and form and present, line up and complete a solid phalanx in their war of defense against the encroachments of the master class, and the battle of attack against the strongholds of the capitalist system of society.

Once more has the A. F. of L. and its capitalistic supporters found pliant tools to overthrow, to repudiate, to ignore and to deride the will of the rank and file—be it the last time.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN.

MAY DAY IN ITALY.

Ferrara, May 1.—May Day was celebrated here with fêtes, lectures and meetings.

Florence, May 1.—Meetings were held here to protest against the Government's large expenditures for military purposes and against the grain duties.

Milan, May 1.—The usual May Day procession here was abandoned for fear that it might rise to disorders.

INDUSTRIAL UNITY

Detroit Workingmen Discuss Its Necessity and Principles.

Mr. Octavio M. Held, the speaker of the evening who addressed the fourth educational meeting of the Architectural Wire, Iron and Metal Workers' Union, No. 4, of Detroit, Mich., April 24, said: "That the conclusions of the great Karl Marx were 'Workingmen of all countries unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains.' You have a world to gain. How, then, shall we unite in order to lose those chains?"

The toilers seem to be awakening to the fact that they have become a commodity, and that the present craft trade unions are unable to cope with the situation that confronts them. They recognize that the small hand tool of the individual of by-gone days has developed into a social affair, dividing the people into two classes, that is, the wage earners, who use the tool, and the capitalist class, who own the tool. The wage earners may use the tool to create profits. When developed into a trust it becomes a good thing for the few who are on the inside (the capitalists). Then it would be a blessing to the many if the working class owned and received the benefit of the trusts.

We know that the greater the wealth of the capitalist class the greater the poverty of the working class." We find men in the labor movement of to-day who are true to the rank and file, because the organizations are organized on the presumption that "the interests of Labor and Capital are identical." But if this is true, then when the capitalist class becomes richer, the working class must necessarily become richer also; but, alas, you are aware that this is not true. Therefrom we must understand that the labor organizations of to-day are capitalist organizations. We knew from bitter experience that the interests of Labor and Capital are not identical. We also know that when the workers are organized along true industrial lines they will aim to own their product, for the toilers realize that there is a class who do nothing, yet live in palaces; while the workers who produce all that which makes life worth the living are not even allowed the privilege of admiring their magic art. We also find that the strikes of some of our trade autonomy unions, apparently inaugurated to increase wages, in fact, develop as a means to lower them, à la Subway strike in New York of late.

Mr. Held also cited the great Bessemer steel strike of 1898-90 against a reduction of twenty-five per cent, during which members of the same organization in Joliet scalped it upon their brothers on strike in Pueblo, and vice versa. How then can these organizations represent the interests of the working class? The true industrial union must be organized on the principle of "An Injury to One Is the Concern of All," to be centralized under one head and will be looked upon to lead to the emancipation of the wage worker, and on the industrial field will take advantage of all means to bring about this object.

To-day we know that the power of the State-militia, police and press have always been in the employ of those whose interests are opposed to those of the working class. The capitalist class is aware that if all the wage earners become alive to this fact, and make a stand consistent with their interests, it will sound the death knell of the present system of capitalism. They, therefore, will place obstacle after obstacle in our way. But they will be overcome and it is for this reason that all forces should unite. We should be as one irrespective of what organization we are members of, and remain cool-headed; for the organization that must meet these new conditions must be an organization of the working class only.

The industrial union is a recognition of the fact that "trades are being abolished and that we are becoming industries. When the working class recognize this and ITS POLITICAL POWER, then we will have our militia and police to protect us from whomsoever might endeavor to defeat our aim, for the means do justify the end."

During the discussion which followed the attention of those present was called to a fact which many a workingman is not aware of, and that is "that a law has been passed within the last two years which, in fact, makes every citizen a member of the militia," not only demonstrating the value of these discussions, but also reminding us "that precious things are found by much diving, and

that the real treasures of earth are never found on the surface."

Mr. Charles Erb will address the next meeting Monday, May 8, beginning at nine o'clock p. m. Subject:—"Trades Unions and Their Needs." Meetings are held at Becker's Hall, corner of Antoine street and Adams avenue.

Free discussion. Admission free. You are welcome.

EUROPEAN UNIONISM.

Pure and Simple Trades Unions on Continent Working Against Socialism.

[From the Edinburgh, Scotland, "Socialist".]

Of late several occurrences seem to point to the fact that the same retrogressive and reactionary type of trade unionism which has to be combated by the Socialist Labor Party in all English speaking countries, has raised its ugly head upon the Continent. The brilliant statement of Robert Michels on "The Dangers of the German Social Democratic Party," translated and reprinted in these columns, from "Le Mouvement Socialiste," which revealed the facts that the German Unions were steeped in revisionism, that they exercised a backward influence upon the party, and that they aped the "pure and simple" unions of Britain, was calculated to open the eyes of those who thought that the continental unions were radically different from those which are dominant in this country, America and Australia. The same facts are revealed, although more indirectly, by an article contributed to a New York paper, by the Guesdian, A. Bruckere. The writer gives a survey of the Trade Union Movement in France, and states that the strongest and most influential and increasing element in it is represented by the Confederation of Labor, an organization opposed to all political action and officiated by anarchists and anti-parliamentarians. He refers to this organization as being "revolutionary," but if we are to judge from the articles written by its officers, and the use which they make of this much abused term, its aims seem to bear the same relation to those of a real revolutionary economic organization of the workers as a quantum of raspberry vinegar in a solution of seltzer powder bears to a whiskey and soda. When one sees the expression "revolutionnaire" used in connection with the eight hour day, the union label and "le sabotage" (the caucanne policy), one begins to wonder if, after all, there isn't something in the notion of the British philistine, that a Paris "revolutionnaire" is a man who gets up on a cafe table, lets down his back hair, and screams. It is regrettable too, that M. Bruckere confines himself to a mere academic survey of the French Trade Union movement (which he estimates as having a membership of about three quarters of a million workers), and refrains from giving his personal views on the subject, or suggesting what policy his own party should adopt in order to meet this unparliamentarian move. That some definite policy must be adopted, and that in the very near future, is proved by the result of the electoral contest at Ceret (Pyrenees Orientales) reported in "Le Socialiste," the official organ of the Guesdians, and the reason therein given for the defeat of the Socialist candidate. In this contest four candidates appeared. The vote was as follows:

Mr. Pujade (radical) 3,484; Marcel Huart (radical Socialist) 1,800; Hostalrich (radical) 1,420; and the candidate of the Parti Socialiste de France (Guesdian), Joseph Coste, 1,328. The defeat is explained as follows: "But for a manoeuvre at the last moment, directed by the Federation of Unions of Boulon against the proletarian and Socialist candidate, the party would have secured quite a different result." This is quite a common phenomenon in America and Britain, but in France it seems quite a new experience. It remains to be seen how the Socialist Party of France will meet its new adversary.

H. MCK.

LABOR DAY IN FRANCE.

Paris, May 1.—Labor Day was observed throughout France. The trades unions of Paris held a monster meeting and adopted resolutions in favor of an eight-hour day.

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INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY

OF MODERN ECONOMIC ORIGIN—WHY AND HOW IT IS CELEBRATED

International May or Labor Day is a very modern institution. It would have been an impossibility in ancient or medieval times. Then there were no great industrial nations with daily communication, commerce and competition. Then the language of the Communist Manifesto, that "The bourgeoisie has, through its exploitation of the world's markets, given a cosmopolitan character to production and distribution in every country," could have had no application. Nor could it then be said that this same exploitation has given a cosmopolitan character to the struggle of the wage working class with the capitalist class, thereby giving a cosmopolitan character also to working class aspirations and creating International May or Labor Day.

Generally speaking then, International May or Labor Day is an outgrowth of the international economic relations that are characteristic of modern or capitalist society. The modern Chauvinist, or Jingo, may deride "the red International" and loudly proclaim his love of nationalism, but the very national development upon which he so strongly prides himself, by compelling international commerce and a struggle for commercial supremacy in foreign markets, is hastening his patriotism to its own destruction and making "the red International" a fact that no amount of sneering can dissipate or overcome. Specifically speaking, International May or Labor Day is the Socialist Labor Day. It stands in marked contradistinction to the September Labor Day that is so extensively a legal holiday in this country. The latter is a capitalist Labor Day—a day granted by capitalist legislation and devoted to the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation and wage slavery.

The former is the day on which the workingmen and women who recognize the world-wide character of modern economics, meet to proclaim once more their common aspirations, exchange fraternal greetings and compare notes on the work that has been done and must still be done to advance their great cause, namely, the ending of the exploitation of labor by capital, and the war of classes and nations born of it, through the social ownership and operation of capital. To express the same thought in still another way, International May or Labor Day is the day on which those who believe that industrial evolution, having made the tools of production and distribution social in character, also requires that these tools be social in ownership, if society is to progress, meet to devise ways and means of hastening this evolution as the circumstances in their respective countries may demand. In far away Russia and Japan, in nearby Canada, in continental Europe, in Great Britain and the distant Antipodes, in every State of the American Union, and in a few South American nations, International May or Labor Day is the day on which class hatred and commercial war are denounced, and fraternal co-operation and international emulation via International Socialism are exalted.

In far away Russia, the Socialists, despite the terrors of the knout, the horrors of barbarous incarceration, and the fearful atrocities of race hatred and bureaucratic reaction, are making great headway. Favored by the blind illiberality of Russian autocracy, which makes revolt an imperative condition necessary to decent existence, and the industrial development of certain provinces and cities, which produce modern economic classes, Socialism has gained such vast numbers of recruits among the Russian workmen as to give the revolutionary movement in Russia a proletarian basis for the first time in its existence, and to change the trend of social effort from retaliatory terrorism to peaceful and constructive propaganda. The Socialists of Russia organize strikes for the improvement of shop conditions, and as a demonstration in favor of education, free press and personal and political liberty. Just now, true to their international sympathies, they are striving to end the Russo-Japanese war, and are laboring by all the means within their reach to encompass the defeat of the Czar, fully confident that a disastrous climax to the present conflict with Japan, will end in the granting of those constitutional demands which they deem the necessary preliminaries to the achievement of the

Opposed to the opportunist are the men and the women who declare that the struggle growing out of the opposing interests of the capitalist and the working classes cannot be ended by compromise. They point to the tendencies of capitalism—it's constant flux and reflux—trustification, crises and world struggles—which are creating conditions of increased instability, uncertainty, poverty and suffering, while extending the corruption, wealth, power and parasitism of the capitalist class. Such conditions make capitalist concessions of small temporary value only, while preparing the soil for Socialism and the steady revolutionary course that will lead to the final overthrow of Capitalism.

"Wages" ... An Echo of "Wages, Marriage And The Church"

The below question, answer, reply and rejoinder will speak for themselves. They will help to confirm both economic principle and the tactical use of terms.

I.
To the Daily and Weekly People:—
In Reform and Revolution, by D. De Leon, in answer to a question by Mr. Dooling, D. De Leon states that "Wages are the price of labor." This is stated repeatedly. Why so?

The statement is ambiguous, since you further state that "Labor stands on the same footing as any other commodity."

The question is a technicality of economic (Marxian) terms but, nevertheless, specifically important, as it is absolutely necessary for the revolutionary proletariat to know exactly what are wages, in order to be correctly guided in their fight for the overthrow of the wage system.

We cannot be too exact in the terms we use in our economic teachings.

Why publish such answers at the present advanced stage of the development of economic knowledge in the ranks of the S. L. P.

I take it for granted that D. De Leon would not make such statements nowadays.

However, I await a reply in the Letter Box.

Query No. 2. Is the New York Labor News Company the property of the S. L. P. I understand it is, but I wish to have it from an authentic source.

As one who does not believe in giving necessary publicity to such serious errors despite the fact that the pamphlet referred to above, possesses high educational value, I remain, in the cause of the workers,

David M. Halliday.

Roslyn, Wash.
II.
(Sunday People, March 19, and Weekly People, March 25.)

D. M. H. ROSLYN, WASH.—The statement "wages are the price of labor" (meaning labor-power) should not be considered ambiguous; and the following sentence—"Labor (meaning labor-power) stands on the same footing as any other commodity"—so far from making the first statement more ambiguous, makes it absolutely clear. A commodity is a thing sold in the market. Seeing that labor-power is sold in the labor-market, labor-power is on the same footing with any other commodity. What a commodity sells for is its price. Seeing that labor-power is sold by its owner, the workingman, for wages, it follows that wages are the price of labor-power. Seeing, furthermore, that labor-power is part and parcel of the seller (the workingman) and that the workingman is generally referred to as labor, "wages are the price of labor." Nothing ambiguous about that. Next question next week.

III.

A REPLY TO EDITOR OF "THE PEOPLE."

Since the breaking up of primitive tribal communism, i. e., the dawn of civ-

ilization on through the different epochs of human society, none of the methods of economic production have been analyzed to anything like the extent to which the present capitalist system of wealth production has been analyzed.

Furthermore, no economic system has had so many complications and intricacies and was consequently so difficult to analyze as is the capitalist system, the real nature of which is hidden behind the phenomena "wages."

Under the first stage of human slavery, which was chattel slavery, there were, practically speaking, no complications in the method of wealth production. The chattel slaves knew that they were abject slaves and that their mental and physical capabilities were the sole property of their master and that by virtue of said ownership the master appropriated the product of their toil over and above the maintenance of his slaves.

Under feudalism, the stage of human slavery which followed chattel slavery, it required no keen perception on the part of the slave of that economic system, i. e., the feudal serf, to know that he (the serf) worked three days per week for himself and the remainder of the week for his master, the feudal baron. Over and above the subsistence of the serf the product of his toil went to the storehouses and granaries of the feudal lord.

Unfortunately, it is not so with the modern slave of the wage system, who generally thinks he is a free man. The form under which the modern proletarian receives remuneration for services rendered his employer, e. g., when he receives wages for work performed by him, hides from him the real secret of capitalist exploitation. He feels that when he receives his wages he has been paid for his labor. Hence all his efforts at bettering his economic conditions are spent in the trades union movement trying to advance his wages, with that as the ultimate goal to be reached.

To those members of the working class, however, who are students of Karl Marx (the man who revolutionized economic science), and who have studied Marx's "Capital, a critical analysis of capitalist production," the present economic system reads like an open book. The workingman who has so studied cannot be fooled by the statement that "Wages are the price of labor."

With the above preface I will now come to the point I wish to get at.

In the pamphlet "Reform and Revolution," a lecture delivered by Daniel De Leon, the Editor of The People, he states, in answer to a question by Mr. Dooling, that "Wages are the price of labor." This being a statement fit for a pure and simple trades unionist and not the Editor of The People, I, a few weeks ago, sent a question to Letter Box of The People, asking if "Wages are the price of labor," and if "Labor is a commodity" are correct statements.

Because a man is considered an authority on scientific Socialism is no reason why I should take his reply to my query as final, since I have studied Marx and I hope I have reached the stage of intellectual development necessary to a correct comprehension of Marx's masterpiece, i. e., "Capital," and know positively that the aforementioned statements are scientifically unsound.

If I am wrong in the premises, then to use current American parlance, "I am from Missouri, you've got to show me."

I am for soundness in our economic teachings. If I am not sound then it is a specific wish on my part to be absolutely sound, in economic knowledge.

To state that "Wages are the price of labor" and to further state in an evident attempt to patch up the matter, that "Wages are the price of labor (meaning labor power)," only makes matters worse, as it shows the entire mixing up and consequently misuse of the two terms.

When Marx talks of the commodity which the proletarian sells on the market, he states specifically that it is labor power as contradistinguished from labor. To prove this I will take what I consider some judicious extracts from Marx dealing with the point under discussion.

If you look up page 120 of the Students' Marx by Dr. Ed. Aveling which is an authentic summary of "Capital," since Aveling translated a considerable portion of "Capital" from the original, and the chapter I have reference to in particular, you will find the definition of "Wages" as follows: "On the surface the wage of the laborer appears to be that which it is not, viz: the price of labor. It is really the price of LABOR POWER."

Again on page 547 of "Capital" you will find the following: "That which comes directly face to face with the possessor of money on the market, is in fact not labor but the laborer. What the latter sells is his labor power. As soon as his labor begins it has ceased to belong to him, it can therefore no longer be sold by him. Labor is the substance and the imminent measure of value but has itself no value."

Marx's definition of labor power is as follows: By labor power or capacity for labor is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description, Page 145, "Capital."

Again Marx says of labor power and labor in reply to Rossi, a bourgeois economist: "When we speak of capacity for labor we do not speak of labor any more than when we speak of capacity for digestion, we speak of digestion." See "Capital," page 152.

Since receiving your reply to my query, I have carefully perused several chapters of Marx's "Capital," and I find that the terms labor power and labor are not by a long way synonymous terms, as you have stated, but instead are two different and distinct economic terms, and both come into play at two different periods of the labor process.

You confuse labor power with labor in the same manner as the bourgeois economists, as Marx termed them. (See Student's Marx, page 39).

A correct knowledge of wages, labor power and labor is absolutely essential to the scientific Socialist in order that he may be able to tell the workers just where they are robbed and how they are robbed. He who does not know the exact use of these economic terms cannot possibly know the meaning of value and of surplus-value, and, consequently, cannot tell the workers how

the product of their toil is stolen from them.

The statement that "Wages is the price of labor" must be placed in the same category of economic absurdities as the statements that "the workers are robbed as consumers" and "the working class pays the taxes."

It is the duty of the scientific Socialist to arouse the working class to action and illustrate and emphasize the particular point at which they are robbed of the product of their toil and thereby prevent as much as possible "the hopeless, helpless, grasping after straws that characterizes the conduct of the bulk of the working class."

The Socialist propagandist must concentrate all his energies in enlightening the proletariat as to the merchandise character of their labor power which they sell to the capitalist class on the labor market, to trace the labor process, i. e., the process by which the product of their toil is confiscated by the class who owns the means whereby the workers live, and prove that the working class is robbed of all they produce at the point of production and at that point only and cannot be robbed anywhere else, only receiving for their labor power a mere pittance called "wages," which allows them to repeat the dose day after day, and if they fail in the sale of their commodity, they starve, as their commodity is a perishable one. That their commodity labor power possesses one quality which is entirely absent from all other commodities, e. g., that labor power is not only the source of value but of more value than it has in itself.

In conclusion I may state that I agree with James Connolly who wrote to The People a year ago, inasmuch as this great and important question of "wages" ought to be thrashed out since it seems a very debatable one.

I hope my contribution will not be considered a "Kangaroooid vain splitting of hairs on economics" since I do not

belong to the Kangaroo species of the genus Socialist. I feel that I possess some of the material which is destined to be an important factor in emancipating society forever from human slavery.

David M. Halliday.

Roslyn, Wash., April 9, 1905.

IV.

The position taken by The People, together with the literature issued by the Socialist Labor Party, that "wages are the price of labor," Mr. Halliday promises in the above reply to overthrow with "judicious extracts" from Marx, and with that promise he enters upon the arena. The gentleman makes four "extracts." Of all these "extracts," the only one that bears upon the point at issue, and bears him out, is a citation, not of Marx, but of Aveling. Affidavits are not lobsters; neither is Aveling Marx.

We shall confine ourselves to Marx.

The Marxian principle is that labor power is a merchandise. Now, then, it so happens that with this merchandise, owner or seller is inseparable from the article sold. A dealer in shoes may live in Roslyn, Wash., and have his factory or shop in New York; the latter may burn up, he need not burn up with it;

or he may shrivel up and die, and yet his merchandise will preserve its full utility. It is so with all other sellers and their merchandise, except the workingman and his merchandise labor-power. If either collapses, down goes the other with it; neither can survive the other. In fact, the merchandise is so interwoven with every muscle, nerve, vein, brain-lobe, and tissue of the seller, the workingman, that the two are one. Important is the economic fact brought out by Marx, and insisted upon by him, that, from the viewpoint of economics, it is the workingman's labor power that the workingman sells and the capitalist buys; and more than once—in his letter to the unity congress of the German Socialists, for instance—he finds great fault with the slurring of the point. But Marx was too well rounded a thinker to overlook the sociologic feature which lay in the inseparability of the merchandise labor-power and the workingman. That, in the end and sociologically, it is the workingman himself that is sold in the Labor-Market Marx points out with lucid clearness and incisiveness when, in the chapter on the source of the capitalist's profits, he points out that it is his own "hide" that the workingman carries to market "for a tanning." One stands, accordingly, with both feet upon Marxism—economic and sociologic Marxism—when the statement is made that the workingman sells HIMSELF. In fact the terms "wage slavery" and "wage slave" indicate as much.

All merchandise has its price in the respective market. So has the merchandise labor-power in its market; and seeing that, as pointed out by Marx, the seller or owner is himself sold in the instance of the merchandise labor-power, it follows that wages, the amount paid, is the price—of what? The term "labor-market" (did Mr. Halliday never come across it in Marx?)—the term "labor market" sufficiently tells that the price is the price of "labor."

It is hard to ascertain exactly what Mr. Halliday objects to.

If his objection is merely to the word "labor" in the sentence "wages are the price of labor"—then his objection may be brushed aside as a mere quarrel of words, and fruitless.

If, however, his objection is to the whole idea, then he is seriously in error. How seriously appears from the passage in which he lightly throws Marx overboard by gayly declaring that "the working class is robbed of ALL that they produce"!!! This is not only an economic absurdity; it is not only a sociologic blunder; it is one of these errors that science condemns as barren in that it leads to no constructive thought: how utterly unconstructive may be judged from Mr. Halliday's definition of wages as a "mere pittance"!

Wages is the amount received by the seller of the merchandise "labor-power" for his merchandise, "labor-power." Due to the circumstance that seller and merchandise are inseparable in this instance, the seller is himself sold. The circumstance embodies two facts—one of economic bearing, to wit, the labor-power feature, the other of sociologic bearing, to wit, the wage slave feature of the transaction. The transaction takes place in the "labor-market," just as cattle is sold in the "cattle market"—hence wages are the price of labor.

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LABOR'S SHARE

Why, Despite Trust or Anti-Trust,
Wages Must Go Down.

Wages can never rise so high as to make it impossible for the capitalist to carry on his business and live; under such circumstances, it would be more profitable for the capitalist to give up his business. Consequently, the wages of the workingman can never rise high enough to equal the value of his product. They must always be below that, so as to leave a surplus; it is only the prospect of a surplus that moves the capitalist to purchase labor-power. It is therefore evident that in the capitalist social system the wages of the workmen can never rise high enough to put an end to the exploitation of labor.

This surplus, which the capitalist class appropriates, is larger than is usually imagined. It covers not only the "profits" of the manufacturer but many other items that are usually credited to the costs of production and exchange. It covers, for instance, rent, interest on loans, salaries, merchants' profits, taxes, etc. All these have to be covered with the surplus, or the excess of the value of the product over the wages of the workingman. It is evident that this surplus must be a considerable one if a concern is to "pay"; the exploitation of the workingman must be great, even where the wages are high. It is clear that the wages of the workingman can not rise high enough to be even approximately equal to the value of their product. The capitalist wages system leans, under all circumstances, to the rough exploitation of the working class. It is impossible to abolish this exploitation without abolishing the system itself.

But wages rarely reach the highest point which they might even under these circumstances; more often they are found to be nearer to the lowest possible point. This point is reached when the wages do not even supply the workman with his bare necessities; when the workingman not only starves but starves rapidly, all work is at an end.

The wages swing between these two extremes; they are found to be lower; the lower the necessities of the workman the larger the supply of labor in the labor market, and the slighter the capacity of the workingman for resistance.

In general, wages must be high enough to keep the workingman in a condition to work, or, to speak more accurately, they must be high enough to secure to the capitalist the measure of labor-power which he needs. In other words, wages must be high enough not only to keep

OUR CHILDREN

Offspring of Workers Sacrificed to Capitalism as Infants of Old Were to Moloch.

(From the Edinburgh, Scotland, "Socialist.")

It is the claim of the defenders of capitalism that their system with its private ownership of the machinery of production, with its numerically small capitalist class who own that machinery, and its large propertless working class, is the best system that ever existed or that could possibly exist. They claim that it gives to the individual the greatest possible liberty, that it gives equal opportunities to all, that it brings forth all the best qualities in man, that it defends morality, that it upholds family life, and that it has resulted in labor being brought to full in the lap of luxury. They assert Socialism would destroy all these things, and bring the workingman to the position of a beggar dependent on the state.

For the workers to be worse off than they are how would seem impossible. The capitalist class during their brief period of supremacy—which, compared with time seems but a few moments—have, it is true, witnessed the wealth production increase a thousandfold; they have witnessed the development of science and its application to industry, until now, with the forces of nature almost completely under the control of man, it is possible to produce wealth with less effort than ever before, and in such abundance that starvation should be but a memory of the past. But to do this they have had to degrade and subjugate the largest half of the population, bringing them down to the level of commodities, where they are sold piece-meal by the hour, day or week in the labor market. This capitalist class has mercilessly exploited and bled the male workers.

They have unmercifully debased, exhausted and unsexed the female worker; they have torn her from her hearth and from her into the factory to become tender of a machine. All this have they done for profit. But this is not all, they have done more.

For them it is not sufficient that their

wives grind and crush the men and

of the working class but the little

they have also become attached to

the whirling wheels of capitalism, and that the profits of the master class may be increased and in order that the children of the "upper classes" may have all the advantages of civilization heaped upon them, and spend their lives in ease and luxury, the children—and, with more shame to the upholders of capitalism, be it said—even the infants of the working-class are sacrificed wholesale at the shrine of capital.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the capitalist class, while the existence of their system is only assured by the ignorance of the workers, cannot help but bring knowledge to the toiling masses by letting the facts come out.

Thus, when trade is stagnant we find their press gushing with sympathy for the unemployed and putting relief schemes into operation.

Forms of society have existed where the children at birth were put to a severe test and the fit permitted to survive. The deformed and ugly were killed off with the purpose of keeping the population from rising above the means of subsistence and of bringing up a strong and healthy race.

Social orders have prevailed where man was chained and lashed to his task, and at other times women were crushed under with the aid of the stocks, the pillory and the whipping post, but it has been left for the modern capitalist class to swell their coffers at the expense of infantile life and infantile suffering. It has been left for the capitalist class to kill off wholesale, by the slow cruel means of starvation, the buds of humanity in order that their power may be strengthened and pampered, and their pride increased. It has remained for the capitalist class to reduce the greatest half of the population, not to the position of beggars depending on the state, but to the position of paupers depending on their so-called natural "superiors."

Gustave Flaubert, in his famous novel "Salammbô," tells how, when the city of Carthage was besieged by the revolting mercenary troops and was reduced to the last straits, every household in the city was compelled to surrender one of its children to be burned alive on the red hot arms of the hideous image of Melkarth, as a sacrifice to the God. The children of the working class are sacrificed, not now and again but day after day to the infinitely more loathsome Moloch of capitalism. Ye have suffered

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

I
From A. Francis, Member Socialist Labor Party.

the workingman in a condition to work, but also in a condition to produce children who may be able to replace them. It follows that the industrial development has a tendency that is most pleasing to the capitalist, to wit, to lower THE NECESSITIES OF THE WORKINGMAN IN ORDER THAT HIS VAGES MAY BE LOWER IN PROPORTION.

There was a time when skill and strength were requisites for a working-man. The period of apprenticeship was then long, the cost of his training considerable. Now, however, the progress made in the division of labor and the system of machinery render skill and strength in production more and more superfluous; they make it possible to substitute unskilled and cheap workmen for skilled ones; and, consequently, to substitute weak women and even children in the place of men. Already in the early stages of manufacture this tendency is perceptible; but not until machinery is introduced into production does the wholesale exploitation commence of women and children of tender age—an exploitation of the most helpless among the helpless, who are made a prey of shocking maltreatment and abuse. Thus machinery develops a new and wonderful quality in the hands of the capitalist.

Originally the wage worker, who was not a member of the family of his employer, had to earn wages high enough to defray not only his own expenses but those of his family in order to enable him to propagate himself and to bequeath his labor power to others. Without this process on his part, the heirs of the capitalists would find no proletarians ready made for exploitation.

When, however, the wife, and, from early infancy, the children of the workingman are able to take care of themselves, then the wages of the male workingman can be safely reduced to the level of his own personal needs without the risk of stopping the supply of fresh labor power.

Over and above this, the labor of women and children affords the additional advantage that these offer less resistance than men; and their introduction into the ranks of the workers increases wonderfully the quantity of labor that is offered for sale in the market.

Accordingly, the labor of women and children does not only lower the necessities of the workingman, but it also diminishes his capacity for resistance in that it overstocks the labor market; owing to both these circumstances it lowers the wages of the workingman.

the whirling wheels of capitalism, and that the profits of the master class may be increased and in order that the children of the "upper classes" may have all the advantages of civilization heaped upon them, and spend their lives in ease and luxury, the children—and, with more shame to the upholders of capitalism, be it said—even the infants of the working-class are sacrificed wholesale at the shrine of capital.

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Thus, when trade is stagnant we find their press gushing with sympathy for the unemployed and putting relief schemes into operation.

Forms of society have existed where the children at birth were put to a severe test and the fit permitted to survive. The deformed and ugly were killed off with the purpose of keeping the population from rising above the means of subsistence and of bringing up a strong and healthy race.

Social orders have prevailed where man was chained and lashed to his task, and at other times women were crushed under with the aid of the stocks, the pillory and the whipping post, but it has been left for the modern capitalist class to swell their coffers at the expense of infantile life and infantile suffering. It has been left for the capitalist class to kill off wholesale, by the slow cruel means of starvation, the buds of humanity in order that their power may be strengthened and pampered, and their pride increased. It has remained for the capitalist class to reduce the greatest half of the population, not to the position of beggars depending on the state, but to the position of paupers depending on their so-called natural "superiors."

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New York, March 16.—The non-signing of the Manifesto by our organizer would have not in any way affected the actions of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and the criticism incurred by a Socialist Labor Party man for endorsing, even, as an individual, on such an occasion, a document containing a stupendous contradiction, is well deserved.

Those who can grasp the situation and are ready to acknowledge facts furnished by the history of the Labor Movement in the past ten years, will find abundance of evidence to sustain that point. The latest evidence is the action of the Brewery Workers' Union in the Trautmann case. There you have a progressive union, with a "Socialistic" (sic) programme, putting its editor to the wall through its Executive Committee (some of that Executive are Trautmann's "comrades of the S. P." all of them either cowards, ignoramuses or heelers of the capitalist class) for a well-meant effort in the interest of our class.

Those who feel the absolute NEED of building up a bona fide economic labor organization, will surely make an effort of their life to go to the Chicago convention, see to it that COMMON SENSE carries the day, and extend the work started by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which is in duty bound to be there, ready for co-operation with any and all regardless of the past, so that the working class of America once for all, may cease to be the prey of charlatans of all descriptions.

To the intelligent and sincere proletarian element who can't see as yet that way, I will say, let's stop further experiments so immensely disastrous to Labor and investigate without prejudice Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance principles during the next three months. You will then SEE the logic of upholding to the last and always those principles and on those principles only, let us, altogether, organize next June at Chicago the Industrial Labor Alliance.

II
From W. E. Kern, Member Socialist Labor Party.

New Orleans, La., March 15.—In considering the Chicago Manifesto and the convention to be held June 27, some of the Socialist Labor Party members are under the impression that the Socialist Labor Party, as a political organization has been invited to send delegates and fly off the handle by calling the Socialist Labor Party men cowards for not sending delegates. Then another member is under the impression that the organization to be formed will be so progressive that it will put the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance out of business, and possibly put them to death.

Now, for the first. I do not think it proper for the Socialist Labor Party to send a delegate to a convention where they have not been invited. The Manifesto clearly excludes political organizations. Now for the second. Any body can look up back records, (history of the Party) and see the great odds and obstacles the party went up against, and is still going up against and see how "cowardly" its members are. I am astonished to hear such a word used, when I know our comrades know better than to use it in connection with the Socialist Trade and Labor Party. Then let the delegates be instructed to inform the convention that, if they adopt those principles and tactics, they are ready to affiliate with them. If not, let them be instructed to withdraw and invite all other delegates who believe in those principles and tactics to join the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

When laying the principles and tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance before the convention let the delegation have a copy of the Manifesto, at the same time, so as they can dissect it, when they show them the necessity of working class politics as laid down by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party. Then let the delegates be instructed to inform the convention that, if they adopt those principles and tactics, they are ready to affiliate with them. If not, let them be instructed to withdraw and invite all other delegates who believe in those principles and tactics to join the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

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long our little children. Of your tender bodies capital has reared the greatest Necropolis of the ages, compared with which Tamburlaine's pyramid of skulls possesses all the attributes of compassion and tender pity.

E. H.
III

From M. D. Fitzgerald, Member Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Boston, Mass., March 21.—In regard to the new organization about to be formed in Chicago: I believe it should be on the lines of "Industrial Unionism", and if it cannot unanimously endorse the platform and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, the question of doing so should be the paramount question for debate in all the divisions of the organization

members of the association. The associations of protection against the union and of continued employment would have effect wherever the non-union men might go. The department would furnish the employers with an ever ready force of men to take the places of strikers in any part of the country and in any craft.

STRIKES IN OTHER TRADES.

St. Louis, May 1.—Plans set forth in the annual report of J. T. Van Cleave, president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, for the establishment of an employment department, threaten, if carried out, to give the trade unions the most formidable opponent they yet have encountered. The proposition advanced practically embraces the organization of the non-union men under the fold of the Citizens' Industrial Association, with a view to giving them preference in employment by business men who are also

members of the association. The associations of protection against the union and of continued employment would have effect wherever the non-union men might go. The department would furnish the employers with an ever ready force of men to take the places of strikers in any part of the country and in any craft.

STRIKES IN OTHER TRADES.

A general strike of 30,000 ladies' garment makers is being prepared for by the officers of the Ladies Garment Makers' International Union.

Strikes involving 3,000 bakers for the enforcement of a ten hour day are being threatened.

The Downtown Truck Owners' Association are preparing a strike of 1,000 teamsters, threatened in the warehouse district.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY.

Of Modern Economic Origin—Why and How It Is Celebrated.

(Continued from page 1.)

are voting armories, fusing with capitalist parties, advocating middle class reforms, and the buying out of the capitalist class, while supporting in all its infamy and corruption the Belmont-Gompers-Civic-Federationized American Federation of Labor, which "The Wall Street Journal" declares to be the bulwark of the nation against the attacks of Socialism.

The facts contained in the Manifesto about the "Gompers tribe", were conclusively proven by the Socialist Labor Party ten years ago, hence the endorsement at its 1896 National Convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, started the previous year, through its Executive Committee (some of that Executive are Trautmann's "comrades of the S. P." all of them either cowards, ignoramuses or heelers of the capitalist class) for a well-meant effort in the interest of our class.

Those who can grasp the situation and are ready to acknowledge facts furnished by the history of the Labor Movement in the past ten years, will find abundance of evidence to sustain that point. The latest evidence is the action of the Brewery Workers' Union in the Trautmann case.

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WEEKLY PEOPLE2, 4 and 6 New Reade St., New York.
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correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.**SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED
STATES:**

In 1888.....	2,068
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

Men whose boast is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave—
Are ye truly free and brave?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works another's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed—
Slaves unworthy to be freed?

—James Russell Lowell.

THE TRAUTMANN CASE.Elsewhere in this issue will be found
the signed statement of Ernest Trautmann
to the Working Class of America. From the statement—confirmatory evidence
of which will later be furnished
—the following facts stand out clear:

Trautmann was the Editor of the "Brauer-Zeitung", the organ of the United Brewery Workingmen, an organization that endorsed the so-called Socialist party; he took part in arranging for a call to organize the Working Class of the land into a Union that he considered superior to the Civic-Federation-American Federation of Labor of Gompers; for doing so the Executive Board of his organization—at least one of whom, Priesterbach, is a member of a St. Louis Democratic Club—demanded his resignation; he refused, and the question was sent to a referendum vote, both sides publishing their statements; by a majority of over 1,000 votes the rank and file sustained Trautmann; but the Executive Board—the accusers in the case—resolved themselves into a "Board of Review", and with the Democratic politician Priesterbach, for one, among them, counted out enough votes favorable to Trautmann, and thus gave themselves a majority, and turned Trautmann out of his office.

Thick as blackbirds in spring do the points rise in connection with—we must admit it—this welcome incident in the volcanic eruptions and convulsions that are just now being experienced in the American Labor Movement. We shall here single out the one that strikes us as most typical and luminous.

It can have escaped no one that the terms "individual opinion", "individual action" have latterly figured quite conspicuously in certain quarters. They are used as a justification, as terms denoting independent individual rights. Victor L. Berger, for instance, the Wisconsin Social Democratic chieftain, used them to justify his conduct in the recent matter of the Milwaukee elections where he advocated the voting for a capitalist candidate. He claimed that it was his "individual opinion" and "individual action" which concerned not his organization, the Social Democratic party. Let us test the principle:

Priesterbach is a member of the Executive Board of the Brewers' Union, a body that endorsed the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party. Priesterbach joined a capitalist political club, a Democratic club of St. Louis. Was this an act of treason or disloyalty to his Union, which endorsed another party? We suppose not. We suppose that Priesterbach and his fellow-members on the Executive Board justify the act on the ground that it was his "individual opinion", his "individual action", to which he has a sovereign right. And, accordingly, he remains an undisputed member of a capitalist political club and of the said Brewers' Executive Board.

Trautmann, the Editor of a paper whose organization is affiliated with American Federation of Labor, joins a body of men in preparing for the organization of another national Union. According to the principle of "individual opinion" and "individual action", the unsophisticated would think that Trautmann's "individual opinion" and "individual action" would be at least as sacred as Priesterbach's.—Not at all! Priesterbach may exercise his "individual opinion" against his Union; although he is a member of the Executive Board, he may join a Democratic capitalist club, but Trautmann has no right to any "individual opinion"! He must be cashiered.

One more illustration will make the point still clearer:

Berger, a member of the National Executive Committee of the so-called Socialist party, a party that, claiming to be Socialist, must be at war with all political parties and candidates of capi-

talism, came out in his two papers, "Wahrheit" and "Social Democratic Herald", with articles that promoted the election of a Democratic candidate. Trautmann brought the matter up in the National Executive Committee of the said Socialist party and demanded an investigation. Berger's defense was that he simply acted upon his "individual opinion", that he had a right to his "individual action" without thereby binding his party or being responsible to it therefore. But this identical Berger shouts with delight at the Executive Board of the Brewers' for denying Trautmann the right to his "individual opinion" and "individual action."

Are these people gone crazy? Not at all! Is it that they have been seized with a sudden dementia for injustice, and will deny to others rights and privileges that they claim for themselves? Not at all! "Berger" and "Priesterbach", on the one side, "Trautmann", on the other, are not the points at issue. The point at issue is the PRINCIPLE that each set represents; and the side with which, in each of the instances quoted above, victory remains SIMPLY PROCLAIMS BY ITS CONDUCT WHAT THE DOMINANT PRINCIPLE IS WITH IT.

What Berger did was not to deny to Trautmann rights that he claimed for himself: what he did was to pronounce himself and his party in favor of the PRINCIPLE upon which he acted—to wit: log-rolling with capitalist politicians.

So likewise with the Executive Board of the Brewers. When it deposed Trautmann and let Priesterbach in peace, what it did was not to deny to Trautmann rights that it recognized in Priesterbach: what it did was to pronounce itself in favor of the PRINCIPLE upon which Priesterbach acted and which Trautmann's conduct no doubt flew in the face of—to wit: log-rolling with capitalism.

It is always well to break through the outward crust of personalities, and come down to the rock-bed of cause. Thus alone can rumpuses prove fruitful, and right PRINCIPLE prevail—as prevail it must.

CRIMINALS AT LARGE.

When the legislative committee, that investigated the Consolidated Gas Company (a branch of the Standard Oil) in this city finished its labors, the controlling spirits of the concern stood indicted of worse than cheating: they stood indicted of fraud, spoliation, highway robbery.

They stood indicted of having watered their stock up to \$80,000,000.

They stood indicted of showing on their books assets of less than \$50,000,000, despite the hugeness of the capital claimed to have been invested.

They stood indicted of falsifying their reports to the tax authorities—sworn reports. The amount reported was \$35,000,000 while their books showed taxable property in the amount of \$50,000,000, and they were paying dividends on nearly double that amount.

They stood indicted of violating the anti-Trust Act—the same Act on which the Northwestern Merger was declared unlawful. They had merged, with one insignificant exception, every single gas and electric company in Manhattan and the Bronx, and all the Queens corporations not operated by the Brooklyn Union Gas Company or the Kings County Electric Company.

They stood convicted of utilizing the monopoly thus acquired by extorting \$1 per thousand cubic feet of gas, when the cost was about 36 cents, and 15 cents per kilowatt hour of electric current when 6.32 cents would cover all expenses including the amounts written off for depreciation.

They stood indicted of having paid from 8 to 9 1/2 per cent. dividends upon the fraudulent capitalization, which means nearly 20 per cent. on the actual capital.

In short, these pillars of "Law, Order and Morality" stand convicted of acts felonious enough to send them all to the penitentiary, and to cause their franchise to be revoked. Has their franchise been revoked, or any step taken in that direction? No! Have they been locked up for fraud, or any step taken in that direction? No!

The law is there clear enough in the premises. Yet the criminals remain at large and in possession of their stolen goods. If the law is clear enough, their freedom proves that they are above the law; that the law is there only to scare the Working Class, but that the capitalist class are above it.

Or is the law, perchance, not clear enough? Then the fact is an evidence that the criminal class is so powerful in advance that it can run legislatures, Governors and Presidents, and see to it that no law is passed that may bother them.

In either case, clear as a pike stands the fact that the Capitalist Class is a law unto itself—the real government of the nation—an irresponsible coterie of brigands.

AND CAPITALISM IS NOT "PATER-NAL!"

The huge sum of \$10,000,000 has been donated by Andrew Carnegie as a fund from which to pay pensions to old teachers of schools and colleges. The sum is to yield a revenue of \$500,000 annually, it is expected to render the old age of deserving instructors bearable, and the awarders will be a committee or board of trustees appointed by the donor. The papers have turned somersaults of praise and delight, and thrown up their hats in praise of commendation of the gift. There is not a statement they have made which does not crack the skull of the theory that capitalism means "individuality"; there is not a statement they have made, which, together with the occasion for making it, does not brand capitalism as "paternal" in the enervating sense of the word.

At the most, 500 teachers in the land can receive any benefit from the gift. According to the last census there were 446,133 teachers and professors in colleges. Allowing the huge figure of 46,133 as the number of the privileged ones who, through "pull" or other "individualistic" methods, receive salaries large enough to live decently on, and lay by something for the morrow, there remain, accordingly, surely 400,000 of these useful members of society whose earnings—the mere fact of the donation together with the Hosannas sung thereupon, attest it—are avowedly indecently, inhumanly, criminally low. Of these, barely one-eighth hundredth the number can expect to profit by the iron-master's "munificence"!

Let us leave these 399,500 wretches aside, and contemplate the 500 "lucky" ones.

Why are they "lucky"? Their luck rests upon a foundation of deep and broad misfortune. They would not now be deemed "lucky" if they had not previously been martyred. Their present "luck" is grafted on a life of unrequited toil. They labored; got little, too little to live well upon; are consequently prematurely aged; and old age stares them in the face with absolute destitution in its folds—and that, despite the phenomenal affluence of the land. They did their share in producing that phenomenal wealth through the services that they rendered society; they were robbed of their share by the capitalist class; and now, cap in hand, they are expected to sue at the door of Carnegie's committee for the pension that is offered. Martyred with unrequited toil for a life-time, they are now to be unmanned at the end by the cringing necessary to catch the committee's eye—above all, they are to be de-humanized by the scrambling that they will be forced to resort to in order to elbow the other 399,500 back, and themselves get the plumb!

The "plum?"—That is the capstone of the insult! The plum of a pension, even the largest proposed—\$2,000—especially if the towering prices of the necessities of life are considered, is but relatively a "plum"; in fact it is a bone, compared with what these martyrs would have to live upon in old age, if the social system of to-day were not, what it is, a system of refined cannibalism, of robbery under the cloak of legality, of immorality behind the mask of religion.

Why go to any dime museum to look at chambers of horror? The nation is one huge Chamber of Horrors, with the capitalist class at the door, beating the drum and acting as pullers-in.

D. Cady Herrick, Democratic candidate for Governor last fall, discussing city, alias "municipal ownership", before the Bronx Press Club on April 24, said: "No government would want its employees to be its masters." The implication that "municipal ownership" will make its employees masters of government is an entirely gratuitous one. It is plainly stated by the strong-lunged advocates of "municipal ownership" that strikes would be abolished under it. This is equivalent to saying that, under "municipal ownership", the government will be the master of its employees, as in the Post Office. As every intelligent workingman knows, the capitalist class is the government to-day, so that, in the last analysis, "municipal ownership" means the capitalist mastery of governmental employees—a condition that capitalist investment in municipal bonds makes imperative. Only under Socialism will employees, that is, the workingmen, be masters of the government, that is, of the management of production and distribution, for, under Socialism, government, as at present constituted, will help to understand why "municipal ownership" is not Socialism and Socialism is not "municipal ownership".

Having thus described class "biases" in general, the author proceeds to show their operation in government. Here is part of what he says under the section-head of "Class Laws":

"In all law-making since civilization began, class legislation has been a prominent feature,—class legislation always intended to be in the interest of the strong class or classes that made the laws. . . Employers and not laborers made the laws for the regulation of laborers in England; and while professing to have the good of the laborers at heart, they imposed restraints which, had they been efficacious, would have made the working people slaves. After the great plague wages rose, and in 1351 the Statute of Laborers was enacted to compel people to work at the old prices. This form of arbitrary interference was kept up for centuries."

More in the same line, but nearer home, is met with under the sub-head "Monopoly Biases". Hear this:

"Wherever monopolies exist, there are influences constantly at work to create and maintain a bias in their favor. . . . The more profitable and unjust a monopoly is, the deeper it fixes prejudices, and the more danger there is in attacking it. This was illustrated by the slavery bias in the United States. It is everywhere and always true. . . . What Adam Smith states of the case in England has been almost true of this country. He says: 'The member of Parliament who supports every proposal for strengthening monopoly is

CLASS INTERESTS

A Keen American Author Who Recognized Them Two Decades Ago.

A local Socialist is making a study of American economic evolution. This study has taken him into libraries and book stores in the search for material. In one of the latter he ran across a book entitled "Class Interests: Their Relations to Each Other and to Government." Of course, he promptly gobbed it up. The book is remarkable, in its way. Published anonymously in 1886 by Appleton & Co., it is referred to in the current discussions of social questions, and readers are advised to peruse it. The author is a very close approach to the present day popo-Democrat. He opposes gold monometallism in favor of silver and greenbacks, attacks protection, and advocates the amplification of government functions", that is, government control of monopolies. But he differs from his successor in a clearer conception of class interests, which is decidedly to his credit, considering the greater development of the class struggle since his time. But, perhaps, it would be better to let him speak for himself on this point.

Stocks of smelters, and, of course, of other concerns—stocks, prosaic stocks—the tentacles, through which the life-blood of workingmen, workingwomen and working-children are suctioned into the veins of the vampire Capitalist Class—stocks, and not art, poetry, books, authors, or any other elevating subject, but low down stocks, only as these go up or down is the "charming woman" of the Capitalist Class cheered or depressed—only stocks interest, all else bore her!

Depew may be growing senile in acting as the refractor for such a ray of information on his own sacrosanct set. But whether it be an act of senility in him or not, no one will doubt the excellence of the refracting lense for its purpose.

A CHAMBER OF HORRORS.

The exhibition that capitalist society is making of itself is presenting the best of all possible social systems" in its true light.

In regular chamber of horror style, the Gerry Society is keeping children from their parents and collecting one dollar a week for the keep of children, who are dead; millionaire directors are found "holding up" policyholders for a rake off of twenty-five dollars; directors of the gas company stand convicted of false swearing to escape taxes, of false book-keeping to escape other State laws, of false capitalization and of charging three times the cost of production; the Secretary of the Navy stands convicted of having violated the law in the matter of rebates when he was a director of the Santa Fe Road; the Standard Oil stands exposed of highway robbery on the sneak system; four hundred thousand children are shown to have been poisoned by food adulterations, and disease untold is proven to be traceable to the poisonous ingredients that the millionaire food producers adulterate their goods with; the City Traction Company operates its trains with reckless disregard of the travelers' comforts; not less than nineteen mine explosions, one hundred and thirty-five factory accidents, and twenty-nine railroad collisions have taken place during the last fortnight, aggregating more than two hundred killed and wounded; in the mean time capitalist officialdom, from judges down or up, are being convicted of cheating, peculating and otherwise dishonoring themselves—all for dividends or cash in some sort.

Having thus shown the cause of the author's departure from orthodox economics via combination, some extracts from Chapter 2, entitled "The Class Bias", are now in order. At the beginning of this chapter the author says: "Every class in society, every coterie, every set, high or low, rich or poor, has its peculiar bias like an atmosphere through which it looks at outward objects. . . .

"Biases take form largely under the molding influences of interests or supposed interests. It has been well said that gravitation itself would be called into question, if the interests of a set were to be subverted thereby. . . . An interest finds its way into the feelings; these feelings spread by contagion until an entire group becomes affected therewith, when mutual sympathy confirms the common sentiment, and not a doubt reigns of its justness. The bias which coincides with the interests of a class, or set, is far more powerful than a merely individual bias, because it becomes strengthened by sympathy, and reinforced by mutual statement and affirmation, till there is no place for doubt or a question. . . . The bias of partisans may thus at times become heated into passion, and prove itself equal to any outrage on truth. The bias of class, with more quiet, may be equally determined, and may carry its purposes by no means less scrupulous. . . ."

Having thus described class "biases" in general, the author proceeds to show their operation in government. Here is part of what he says under the section-head of "Class Laws":

"In all law-making since civilization began, class legislation has been a prominent feature,—class legislation always intended to be in the interest of the strong class or classes that made the laws. . . Employers and not laborers made the laws for the regulation of laborers in England; and while professing to have the good of the laborers at heart, they imposed restraints which, had they been efficacious, would have made the working people slaves. After the great plague wages rose, and in 1351 the Statute of Laborers was enacted to compel people to work at the old prices. This form of arbitrary interference was kept up for centuries."

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sure to acquire reputation for understanding trade, but also great popularity and influence with an order of men whose numbers and wealth render them of great importance. If he opposes them, on the contrary, and still more, if he have authority enough to be able to thwart them, neither the most acknowledge probity, nor the highest rank, nor the greatest public services can protect him from the infamous abuse and detraction, from personal insults, nor sometimes from real danger arising from the influence of furious and disappointed monopolists."

"There has always been a coalition of the strongest classes in society, in which wealth and blood have constituted the bond, and at the same time, the means of operating upon and securing the subserviency of other classes."

One more quotation, and then we'll end, for the present, this resume of this remarkable book. Writing under the sub-head "Biases of Economical Teachers", the author of "Class Interests" has this to say:

"Not legislators and executive officers alone have the aristocratic bias; the teachers of political economy are not wholly free from it. . . . Political economy has to do with questions in which class interests are diverse, and owing to the conflicting emotions which these interests call up, and the biases which they generate, it is not to be expected that political economy will soon be free from the taint of bias."

Indeed not!!!

In conclusion, the reader of "Class Interests" is inclined to wish this book in the hands of those who contend, in these days of "Peabodyism" and "Parryism", that there are no classes in this country! Written two decades ago, it would show them that there is at least one able American writer, who, though no Socialist, believed the contrary. They had better wake up. Two decades after, was just the time Rip Van Winkle woke up!

Herman W. Troebner, who has the distinction of being "the greatest mendicant that ever lived, and a genius in his line", is now in the lock-up. It is stated that "he has cleaned up tens of thousands of dollars during the past four or five years, and the full list of his victims would read like a social register of New York." Some names, such as those of Clarence Mackay, and one of the California Crokers, are given, and show the latter half of the foregoing statement to be true. Troebner, when asked "How on earth did you work it?" replied: "Oh, just conned 'em." Again, he is reported to have said: "It wasn't so much the money I was after as the satisfaction of doing those big people. It's something to say that you've

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

AS TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.
To the Daily and Weekly People.—I am not desirous of entering into a discussion on the address of Comrade De Leon to the membership of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, but I do desire that the membership be made acquainted with the fact that, as one, I cannot agree with Comrade De Leon's confession of faith. I, too, had hoped that Comrade De Leon would be one of the chosen ones to represent the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance in the Chicago conference. But to me (and I have always understood Comrade De Leon as taking that position), an economic organization without a political affiliation cannot be revolutionary.

There is a difference in an endorsement of one organization by another and an affiliation between them; and, unless the new organization embodies the following from the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance constitution, or their equivalent, in its constitution, I shall certainly favor the continuation of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance:

"Article II.—Objects.—(d) To further the political movement of the Working Class and its development on the lines of International Socialism as represented on this continent by the Socialist Labor Party."

"Article VII.—General Laws.—Sec. 2: Any affiliated organization, or any officer thereof, that may endorse or in any way support any political party other than the Socialist Labor Party, shall be expelled by the General Executive Board."

"Sec. 3: Any member of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance who accepts nomination for office from any political party except the Socialist Labor Party shall be immediately dropped from the roll of membership."

I acknowledge that I fail to understand Comrade De Leon when he says: "With the Labor Lieutenants out of the way what the capitalist class has been throwing them will go to the rank and file even to tub fulls"—far be it from them, they will only do this when forced to; and when we reach that stage, it will be as easy to get the whole thing as to get tub fulls."

I am certainly therefore not in favor of sending Comrade De Leon or any one else to the Chicago conference, with such a confession of faith; much more then am I in favor of instructions that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance take a position and select delegates accordingly. If those delegates slip through the loop hole, we have the referendum. No one has said anything to me about becoming a delegate. Should I be chosen, I certainly could not subscribe to Comrade De Leon's confession of faith.

Should the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance decide that Comrade De Leon's position is correct, then select only such delegates as agree with him; they are then instructed. There will be a minority to leave out, for I feel sure that I am not alone. But I hope Comrade De Leon's confession of faith will not prevail.

W. W. Cox.
East St. Louis, Ill., April 25.

SELF-ANALYSIS SHOULD BEGIN AT HOME, ELLA WHEELER.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—In looking over Mr. Heart's "Municipal Ownership" Evening Journal of April 15, 1905, I noticed a contribution by Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox on: "The Growth of Socialism in California" (Socialism is a S. D. P., alias S. P., alias P. O. P., of course), in which this passage occurs: "Meantime it behoves every man and woman enrolled in the ranks of the Socialists to set apart a portion of each day for self analysis."

Now, Mr. Editor, while I have nothing against this bit of advice, the thought occurs to me that Mrs. Wilcox, as a public writer of influence, is herself loudly in need of some self analysis. In practicing self analysis she would find that instead of doing good, she is actually doing harm to the great working class (which, after all, consists of the bulk of the people), by instilling into the minds of thousands of men and women the Single Tax fallacy. By analyzing herself she would also find that by writing well-worded articles on love, kindness, self-reliance, push, etc., and leaving capitalism, which degrades and demoralizes man, woman and childhood, untouched, she is not adding anything to the world's progress or happiness.

I really did admire Mrs. Wilcox's writings once, but the reading of the Daily People quickly put a damper on my enthusiasm and made me come to the conclusion that what is needed to-day is more women of the type of Mrs. Olive M. Johnson; women that are devoting their time and energy to the education and organization of the people; so that

they, when educated and organized, can throw off the crushing yoke of capitalism and inaugurate the Socialist Republic.

Yes, Mrs. Wilcox, let us have self analysis, but don't forget that it, like charity, begins at home. L. V.

New York, April 27.

STAY AWAY: STRIKE ON!

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I am a lens grinder in the optical business and a member of the Socialist Labor Party and Local Alliance 77. I have been offered a job in Meyerovitz's shop, 168 West One Hundred and Twenty-third street, but heard there was a strike on and not being sure, I ask you to let me know whether there is or not.

A. H.

South Boston, Mass., April 24.

BOHN'S SUCCESS IN PHOENIX.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—National Organizer Comrade Frank Bohn's lectures in Phoenix were a success, even the bogus Socialists admit that he is the ablest speaker on Socialism that has toured the territory. That goes without question by those who understand sociology as all other speakers on the question were humbugologists attempting to discuss sociology.

In his first lecture Bohn astounded the lovers of President Roosevelt by stating that he was mendacious and that when he stated in his message to Congress that the laboring class were now better off than ever before in the world's history, being a historian, he must have known that it was a lie.

When he was through with his lecture Bohn asked any one in the audience that took exception to what he said to take the stand and he would discuss the question with him. Not one dared to open his mouth, although, while I was selling literature, one in the audience refused to buy literature saying that he didn't like the way that Bohn talked. I asked him what was the matter with what Bohn said. "Why," he answered, "he called the president a liar" and that he knew the president to be an honest man, and that he would not dare say it to his face. I told him that the facts as stated in the lecture proved the president to be a liar and that Bohn would say it and prove it to the president's face if necessary, and that bluffs might go with other parties, but not with the Socialist Labor Party.

Upon the whole the lectures were a success, although the rain put us out on Monday night and very nearly did the same thing on Tuesday. The sale of literature was an unequalled success. We sold 200 pamphlets, forty-nine at the Sunday afternoon meeting and received three applications for membership.

Fraternally,

A. Leach.

Phoenix, Ariz., April 25.

JAY GEORGE, THE CONVICTED MAIL ROBBER.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—In regard to your Letter Box answer in the Sunday People, April 23, that you did not know "Jay George." Well, perhaps you don't, but you do know a thing or two about F. G. R. Gordon, the slimiest sneak that I ever experienced, and who was dismissed from the mail service for robbing the mail, joined the Social Democratic party and turned Gomperite. The two are one and the same. He was writing under the name "Jay George" during the campaign of 1903; some of his owners had him in charge of a weekly slush in Haverhill then; he managed to get his stuff into most of the weekly papers of the State, among them being the Rockland "Independent."

I fought him to a standstill. Something about his style seemed familiar. I tried several times to wheedle the editor into telling me who he was but failed. Putting some trifles together I finally came to the conclusion that it was "Alphapeth Gordon," and I afterwards verified it by the editor. I gave her some of his history and she admitted that his appearance and way of acting instead of contradicting my story very largely corroborated it.

I think I can, if necessary, get a written statement from the editor of the "Independent," affirming the above.

A. Friend.

Abington, Mass., April 25.

WHO NEXT?

To the Daily and Weekly People.—The Milwaukee Journal of April 15 has the following bit of interesting news:

MAYOR IS SUPPORTED BY THE SOCIALISTS?

"Why did Socialist aldermen vote for Stanley E. Czerwinski for public works commissioner?"

"It is the first time since they have

been in the council that they have voted with the mayor. None but City Comptroller Peter Pawlinski seemed able to explain.

"Ald. Melms made inquiries in the Eleventh and Fourteenth wards and found there was practically no opposition to Czerwinski, and that he was a desirable man," he said. "Therefore, they decided to vote for him."

"Mr. Czerwinski said he knew of no reason, and that he had not seen a Socialist alderman."

"Others ascribe the change of front of the 'reformers,' as the Socialists are called in the city hall, to a political deal. What it is they do not know."

The Social Democrats who have been elected to the common council pledged themselves to work for the best interests of the people. Now, the newly appointed commissioner of public works, S. Czerwinski, is a druggist. He, of course, may be the best of men, but the position to which this dispenser of drugs has been appointed, with the aid of the Social Democratic council members, is one which should have been given to some one more familiar with the work pertaining to such an important place. Evidently, in this sense, the enthusiasts of Victor Berger have a strange, a very strange, conception indeed of how to advance and guard the best interests of the people.

It does not need to be explained here, it is too well known, even by the least informed, that no person will ever be appointed or favored with an office unless he be able to exercise political influence—he must be a political boss through whose efforts the party or person who stands at its head has been raised to political prominence. The same is true with regard to our newly appointed commissioner of public works, S. Czerwinski. If Mr. Czerwinski had not been a close political friend of our Democratic mayor, Rose, a "shrewd" politician, one who knows when and how to draw votes for the Democratic party, he would never have been appointed to his present position. Now, for this man, who is totally unqualified to serve as a member of the board of public works, for this politician, for this admirer of Rose, for this Democratic politician—the Social Democratic members in the common council cast their ballots!

It is but a few weeks ago that Mr. Berger advised the people to vote for a Democratic judge; now all Social Democratic members of the common council, including Mr. Heath, editor-in-chief of the Social Democratic Herald, voted for a Democrat. Wonder for whom or what they will vote next time? We will let the readers of The People know in due time.

May the heavens have mercy on them—we cannot!

H. B.

Milwaukee, Wis., April 20.

ELECTRIC FUNERALS.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—In regard to the displacement of funeral coach drivers and hackmen by electrically propelled funeral cars, incidentally referred to in your paragraphs dealing with electrical developments, in the Daily People of April 13, I may be permitted to state, for the information of your readers, that the United Railroads of San Francisco are fast absorbing the funeral business to the San Mateo County cemeteries, and with good reason. The distance to the city from the cemeteries is nine miles, over, in winter, as a muddy road as is to be found anywhere in the country (which is saying a good deal, for America is far behind military ridden Europe in respect to public highways).

The funeral cars are elegantly upholstered and can be hired, so I am informed, for \$20. The journey is made swiftly, neither is the funeral held up by the rapacious wayside publicans who give dinner gratis to the hack drivers for bringing custom to these houses. Two new cemeteries in the course of construction (the Masonic and the Odd F. L. V.'s) are being provided with a car track encircling their entire grounds.

Thus, on every hand, we find economic pressure becoming heavier. And the funeral coach drivers and hackmen who, on a sunny day have a really good thing in the funeral business, will soon find themselves in the position of Othello—their occupation gone.

Ernest Lemmon.

Colma, Cal., April 18.

TARRYTOWN ORGANIZED.

A branch of Section Westchester County, Socialist Labor Party, was organized at Tarrytown, on Saturday, April 22, and the following officers were elected:—Organizer, James Kruger; recording secretary, James Craig; financial secretary-treasurer, Sam Gross. It was decided to hold regular meetings the second and fourth Fridays in the month, the place of meeting to be announced by the organizer in the Party organ.

R. K.

"MAYOR IS SUPPORTED BY THE SOCIALISTS?"

"Why did Socialist aldermen vote for Stanley E. Czerwinski for public works commissioner?"

"It is the first time since they have

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

From the April 12th issue of the Helena, Mont., "Montana News", and the April 22nd issue of the Milwaukee, Wis., "Social Democratic Herald", organs of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party.]

sult to that movement, and we demand either a bill of particulars or an apology.—(Social Democratic Herald.)

We can certainly have no objections to Mrs. Rand-Herron giving money to float the Titus-Mailly yellow sheet, but she ought to stipulate that it is not given for the purpose of flooding the Wisconsin movement with copies with the obvious intention of making trouble in a movement that is in the van of the fight for the Socialistic conquest of the political power.—(Social Democratic Herald.)

The movement in the state of Oregon must be in a bad way judging from the material it has put into the national committee. There is no Socialist movement on the entire globe with the exception of the United States where a professional "fortune teller" with ready money as a main qualification, would be made a national committeeman just because she happens to have a glib tongue. Such a person can be made a Socialist official in Oregon, but if she was in Wisconsin or some other state she would be locked up according to law. It may be necessary yet to protect the movement in this country by providing that at least horse thieves, fortune tellers and baby farmers shall not be eligible to a place on the national committee!—(Social Democratic Herald.)

Comrade Titus, editor of the Socialist, of Toledo, Ohio, was so busy telling about Berger bourgeoisisms in the last issue that he forgot to say a word as to the truth or falsity of the charge against himself as to tampering with the ballot box in Seattle.—(Montana News.)

OSBORNE'S RECORD.

California "Socialist" Organizer Self-Confessed Anarchist.

To whom it may concern:

Section Chicago has received three letters from California, inquiring about the record of Mr. Osborne, the blind orator. As the undersigned members of Section Chicago have had experience with the above named individual, we have decided to furnish the readers of The People with his biography from Colorado:

"In the summer of 1899, Carl Browne arrived in Denver as an organizer for the American Sovereign Citizens (a new Coxey movement), and took up collections for same. Mr. Osborne appeared upon the scene and after the withdrawal of Carl Browne, continued to take up collections for the American Sovereign Citizens, an organization that existed on paper only.

The next move of Osborne's was in company with two well-known crooks in putting up an "Independent Socialist ticket", with the names of the Silver Republican candidates on it. Mr. Osborne admitted later that he did not get all of his Judas' money for that dainty piece of work, as the Silver Republicans beat him out of the last fifty dollars. One of his partners in that transaction is dead; the other one, named Niel, is now in Kansas City, and was a delegate to the so-called Socialist party convention in Chicago a year ago, from Kansas. We met him in Chicago at the time. Section Denver, Socialist Labor Party, had a lot of circulars distributed at the time, showing up that crooked trio.

The next we heard of Osborne was when he went as a delegate to the Populist convention. After his return from that convention, Mr. Osborne appeared upon the streets of Denver, making a "Socialist" talk, and after having gathered a crowd, advertised some cigar stores on Sixteenth street.

Then Mr. Osborne left Denver, as we were told, for Portland, where he, in company with someone else, started a "Socialist" paper. The paper did not last long and Osborne returned to Denver. He had now become totally blind.

He could from that time be found on the streets of Denver talking for the so-called Socialist party. But one thing he never forgot at his meetings, and that was to take up a collection for his own benefit.

In the campaign preceding the county election in Arapahoe County, in 1901, Section Denver, Socialist Labor Party, held an open air meeting, corner of Sixteenth and Arapahoe streets. After the meeting had been in progress about thirty minutes, a medicine fakir drew up in the crowd and began to sing and howl. At the same time upon the scene appeared a blue-coated minion of the law, who ordered Comrade W. Fowler, who was speaking for the Socialist Labor Party, to move on, as the fakir, who was known as the multi-coco fakir, had a permit for that corner. Fowler refused to comply, as nobody had a right to issue permits. The Socialist Labor Party already had carried that point to the courts and had got a decision de-

claring that ordinance unconstitutional. The multi-coco fakir then announced that "we will now have a little Socialism from this carriage" and Osborne stepped into the carriage to talk, for which he received five dollars from the fakir.

At this time the patrol wagon arrived and the police placed Comrade Fowler under arrest. Comrade Mullin then took the stand to speak. He was also arrested. M. Hurwitz then took the stand: he was thrown down by the police. Comrade C. Starkenberg got on the stand: he was placed under arrest. Comrade Hurwitz again took the stand: he was placed under arrest—and so was the stand. Osborne and the multi-coco fakir were left in possession of the crowd. This was Saturday night. On Monday morning in court a postponement was obtained to the following Thursday, at which time several members of the so-called Socialist party appeared as witnesses for the police; among them was Osborne. He testified that he had been speaking at that corner for several weeks and that he opened up at 7:30, and that he turned the crowd over to the multi-coco fakir at 8 o'clock.

Upon being cross-examined, Osborne said that the Socialist Labor Party members had bothered him constantly at his meetings. The Socialist Labor Party attorney asked: "How did they bother you?"

Osborne—"By asking questions." Socialist Labor Party Attorney—"Don't you call for questions at your meetings?"

O.—"Yes."

S. L. P. At.—"Why do you call for questions if you don't want people to ask you any?"

O.—"It is not the questions that I object to; it is the insinuations they throw at me."

S. L. P. At.—"Do you know Cleckner and Niel?"

O.—"Yes; but why bring them in here? One is dead and the other has left the city."

S. L. P. At.—"Did you not put up an independent Socialist ticket with the Silver Republican candidates' names on it?"

O.—"Yes."

S. L. P. At.—"And they beat you out of fifty dollars after doing that job?"

O.—"No; they paid me later."

S. L. P. At.—"Do you know Emma Goldman?" (objection by prosecuting attorney.)

S. L. P. At.—"Your Honor, I want to show that this man is posing as a Socialist and that he is nothing but a redhanded Anarchist." (The Court: Objection overruled.)

O.—"Yes."

S. L. P. At.—"Did you ever speak from the same platform with Emma Goldman?"

O.—"Yes."

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OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 380, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency).
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.
During the week ending with Saturday, April 22, the following amounts were received for the above fund:

Previously acknowledged ... \$547.66

Max Stein, Phoenix, Ariz., per
Bohn \$ 5.00

J. A. Leach, Phoenix, Ariz., per
Bohn 5.00

F. R. Newark, N. J. 1.00

P. J. New York 1.00

Chas. H. Tobin, Attleboro Falls,
Mass. 25

J. C. Anderson, Tacoma, Wash. 1.00

23d A. D., New York 1.00

Grand total \$565.81

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

BOHN'S CALIFORNIA ITINERARY.
San Diego, May 1-6; Los Angeles, 7th;
Bakersfield, 8th-10th; Fresno, 11th-15th;
Tuolumne, 16th-18th; Stockton, 19th-23d;
Sacramento, 24th-30th; Reno, Nev., May
31 to June 2; San Francisco and sur-
roundings, 30 days; San Jose and sur-
rounding, 10 days; Eureka, 10 days.
Definite dates for last three later.

N. A. F. AWARDS.
Concordia Music Box to K. & M.,
Centre street, New York city.

Gold Watch to W. Rekemeyer, Jr.,
Gloversville, N. Y.

Two Sewing Machines—one to Rafael
C. Guillen, San Antonio, Tex.; other to
T. Doyle, Whitesboro, State?

Five Phonographs—one each: M.
Kupfer 155 Ridge street, New York city;
C. Schmidt, New Haven, Ct.; Mr. Ebert,
378 Greene avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.; J.
Roddan, 640 Park avenue, New York
city; Dalton, Providence, R. I.

Ten Gold Pins—one each: H. F.
Schofield, Holyoke, Mass.; Geo. Maitby,
Philadelphia, Pa.; A. Robathan, Denver,
Colo.; Tom Dougherty, Minneapolis,
Minn.; Lizzie Young, Evansville, State?
H. Lindig, Utica, N. Y.; Wells, San
Francisco, Cal.; S. Katz-Nelson, Yonkers,
N. Y.; L. Freese, Jeannette, Pa.;
H. Weilert, 680 Metropolitan avenue,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

NEW YORK S. E. C.
Meeting at headquarters, Daily People
Building, 2-6 New Reade street, on
Friday, April 28. All present, except
Walsh, who was excused. Gilhans in
the chair. Minutes of previous meeting
adopted as published.

Communications: From Rensselaer
County, asking reason for non-acknowl-
edgment of nominations of Corrigan and
Passano as Socialist Labor Party
delegates to Socialist Trade & Labor
Alliance convention. Secretary reported
having answered that nominations were
not received, and asking particulars re-
garding sender, date of sending, etc.
From Section Onondaga County on
election petitions and National Agita-
tion Fund matter. Filed. From Cor-
respondence Bureau, detailed report.
Referred to Lechner and Moren to
make digest and report at next meeting.
It was decided to instruct Correspond-
ence Bureau to have one of its members
present at every first meeting of the
month of the State Executive Committee.
From A. L. Zimmerman of the
Correspondence Bureau, calling atten-
tion to the fact that in the last minutes
of the State Executive Committee his
first name is given as "William", and
requesting rectification in minutes of
this meeting. Granted. From State
Organizer Rudolph Katz, reporting
work done in Westchester County, viz.,
Perrystown organized, Port Chester again
visited, and Peekskill and Ossining can-
vassed. Will now take up Putnam
County. Has arranged meeting at Cold
Spring, with Zolot's aid. Report re-
ceived and approved. From Schenectady
regarding failure of Schlossberg
to lecture there. Secretary reported
having interviewed Schlossberg, who
said he had explained the matter in
"Der Arbeiter." S. was instruc-
ted to inform Sectio: Schenectady that
in so far as this committee can learn
Schlossberg acted in good faith and is
not to be blamed for his inability to
lecture.

The secretary reported having seen
manager of the Labor News Company
in regard to the complaint of Branch
Yonkers, and found the delay was due
to miscarriage of order. Report re-
ceived.

It was decided to postpone publication
of last half-yearly financial report
of 1904 to July, when it will be pub-
lished with the first half-yearly report
of 1905.

After discussing matters relative to the
Correspondence Bureau, the meet-
ing adjourned.

Justus Ebert, Sec.

KINGS COUNTY MASS MEETING.
A well-attended mass meeting of the
members of Section Kings County, So-
cialist Labor Party, was held on Sat-
urday, April 29, 1905, at Weber's Hall, 222
Stockton street, Brooklyn.

Comrade H. Kuhn was elected chair-
man and Wm. Teichlauf acted as secre-
tary.

The meeting proceeded immediately
to the business for which it was main-
ly concerned, the nominations of candi-
dates to be voted for at the next election.

The following nominations were put
in the field receiving the unanimous
vote of the members present:

For Justice of the Supreme Court:
Second Judicial District:

JOHN LINDGREN.

For County Register:

EMIL MULLER.

For County Clerk:

E. C. SCHMIDT.

For Sheriff:

ALBERT SAND.

For Borough President:

GEORGE W. MORITZ.

For Coroners:

A. ANDERSON.

E. F. WEGENER.

H. Kuhn, James Hanlon and Wm.
Teichlauf were elected a committee to
fill vacancies.

A general discussion, hinging upon the
necessity of collective and planful action
to secure the required number of signa-
tures on the petition lists followed.

MAY DAY RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, we, the workingmen of Great-
er New York assembled at Cooper Union
on May 1, under the auspices of the
Socialist Labor Party, recognizing that
the bourgeoisie has, through its exploita-
tion of the world's markets, given a cos-
mopolitan character to production and
distribution and working class aspira-
tions, herewith send fraternal greetings
to their fellow workers of the old world,
and urge them to continue their effort
to overthrow the old systems of Feudal-
ism and Capitalism and inaugurate So-
cialism.

A motion to call upon the State Com-
mittee for assistance with speakers was
carried.

A motion to instruct county commit-
tees to issue subscription lists for the
gathering of funds was also carried.

Subscription lists issued by the Execu-
tive Board of the Socialist Trade & La-
bor Alliance were received and dis-
tributed among members present. Pro-
ceeds to be used for the defraying of ex-
penses of delegates to be sent to the Chi-
cago Convention next June.

Comrade Teichlauf delegated to this
Section by the Press Security League
rendered a report upon the work the
League has accomplished since its or-
ganization and asked those enrolled in
same to be more punctual and regular in
their monthly remittances.

Adjournment followed.

Secretary.

PEDRO PARTY AND DANCE IN BUF-
FALO.

This Saturday evening, May 6, at 8
o'clock Section Erie County, S. L. P.,
will have a pedro party and dance in
Florence Parlor, 527 Main street, near
Genesee street. Fine prizes will be
given and a general good time secured
for all present. Admission is fifteen
cents. Every friend of the Socialist Labor
Party in Buffalo is invited to come and
bring friends along.

**CLOSING LECTURE OF THE BUF-
FALO LABOR LYCEUM.**

The last of this season's lectures of
the Buffalo Labor Lyceum will be de-
livered this Sunday afternoon, May 7th,
at 3 o'clock in Florence Parlor, 527
Main street. It will be a joint lecture
on "Socialism and the Fakir" to be de-
livered by three of Buffalo's leading phys-
icians—Dr. Roswell Park, Professor of
Surgery, University of Buffalo; Dr. Ernest
Wende, Prof. of Dermatology, U. of
B. (former Health Commissioner), and
Dr. Henry R. Hopkins, Prof. of Hygiene,
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subdivided as follows: "The Fakir in
History," by Dr. Park; "A Modern
Fakir," by Dr. Wende, and "The Fakir and
Public Health," by Dr. Hopkins. The
usual interesting debates and criticism
from the Socialist standpoint will fol-
low. Every man and woman is invited.
Admission is free.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS FUND.

The following contributions were re-
ceived for the above fund during the
week ending with April 22:

S. Schwartzman, New York....\$ 1.00

P. Driscoll, Paradise, Ariz. 1.00

Total.... \$ 2.00

Previously acknowledged.... 126.57

Grand total.... \$128.57

Henry Kuhn, Nat. Sec.

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John J. Kinneally, who followed, after
an appropriate introduction by the chair-
man, as the Socialist Labor Party can-
didate for Mayor in the coming munici-
pal election, gave a brief history of

MAY DAY MEETING**COOPER UNION CELEBRATION A
STIRRING EVENT.**

Resolutions Passed Amid Vociferous Ap-
plause—Demonstration Made at Mem-
ber of June Chicago Conference—
Meaning of May Day Explained by
Kinneally, De Leon, Carroll, Hunter
and Vaughan.

The great auditorium at Cooper Union
was crowded Monday night. It was the
opinion of many present that the meet-
ing was the best one held by the So-
cialist Labor Party in some time. The
occasion was the celebration of Interna-
tional May, or Labor, Day.

The speakers were all enthusiastically
received, Daniel De Leon especially
coming in for a great share of applause
and cheers. And so also were the
resolutions with a whoop, the clause com-
manding the European Socialists for voting
against the BACKWARD RACES' restriction
resolution at Amsterdam evoking a swell
of enthusiasm that was inspiring and
thrilling. It struck a sympathetic cord
and met with an instinctive and deep
response. The resolutions, which em-
bodied the keynote of the meeting, fol-
low:

MAY DAY RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, we, the workingmen of Greater
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on May 1, under the auspices of the
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May Day. He traced its development from a day in favor of the eight hour movement to a day demanding the unconditional surrender of capitalism. Kinneally laid emphasis on the fact that May Day was not a Labor day established by capitalist law and in the interest of the capitalist class, but a day by, for and of the Working Class. He then proceeded to demonstrate the International character of capitalism and the class struggle. Like the chairman, Kinneally spoke in high praise of the Russian workingmen and their valiant struggle, and drew comparisons between Russian and American conditions. His depiction of American Labor conditions, especially the traitorous acts of the Stone, Gompers and Mitchell labor fakirs during the strike on the "municipally owned" Belmont-Rothschild subway and his references to the Chicago convention were greeted with great applause.

Then followed keen-witted Carroll from Boston, a trifl nervous at the size of the audience at first, but getting on good terms with it as he proceeded. Carroll showed how the Russian workingmen had been tutored to believe in the divinity of the Czar's rule and ownership of the land, until some Socialist workingmen began to question them. He described the unkind reception that was accorded them by their fellow workingmen, and the governmental and Siberian persecution that followed. Coming to this country, Carroll showed how the American workingman is tutored to believe in the divine property rights of President Baer to the coal fields, though millions of them are freezing; likewise the divine rights of other capitalists to rob and maltreat the workers. There was one big difference in favor of the American workingman. "You," said Carroll, "have the privilege of changing conditions by the ballot. Your bomb is your vote."